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Images of donors in the Buddhist art of Eastern India

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Introduction – The artistic production of religious imagery which increased on a vast scale in Eastern India between the eighth and twelfth centuries has been the subject matter of major books and articles written in the last hundred years. These publications, which deal mainly with the religious iconography and the stylistic development of this important school of South Asian art, paved the way to the study of more specific aspects of the artistic production. Cast and carved images produced in a very large number are based on a easily recognizable specific structure which can introduce 'secondary' motifs, notably the depiction of human characters, often ignored in art historical studies.

Images were produced by craftsmen at the request of devotees, predominantly lay people, and principally donated to the religious community.¹ They are thus the point of convergence of three categories of individuals, each bringing his know-how, spiritual need or knowledge. In this paper, I wish to consider how human characters were integrated in the iconography of the Buddhist image, and how the human world, i.e. the society and the community of monks, was made part of the composition of the sculpture.²

These images do not, in fact, only depict a specific god or goddess, alone or attended by various secondary deities; they are inserted in an intricate setup of various motifs carved on the back-slab and in the pedestal, all bearing specific meanings which harmoniously blend to bring forth a work broadly reflecting the perception of the deity as axis mundi and creator of the universe, and the overall sculpture as image of the cosmos as seen in a previous paper (2007). As seen there, this understanding of the images most probably also reflects the perception which specific social, basically Buddhist and Brahmanical, groups had of themselves within the society they inhabited: images not produced by nature but by human beings herald very human concerns.

While bearing in mind the observations expounded in my previous paper, I would like to dwell here on a topic which had drawn first my attention in two articles published in 1985 and 1995, namely the representation of human devotees and monks in the lower part of the image. The devotees had visible evidence of themselves included in the image, having themselves portrayed or named in the inscription corroborating their donation.

Their presence transforms the once fully divine icon into an image having this icon supported by human beings, and thus depending on them, but having also the human beings drawn into the divine orb. The religious image becomes a place of exchange between two spheres, divine and human: with the humans 'thinking' or 'visualizing' their gods and goddesses, it is their creativity which is enhanced; with their mere presence in a

¹ The production of images was also sponsored by monks, as we know from the material found at Kurkihar (Bihar). My assumption that images were essentially donated to the community does not exclude the fact that lay practitioners must have also had images produced for their private, i.e. home, worship.

² I shall deal here mainly with carved images. Casting images offers other possibilities in the composition, allowing for instance images in the round, but also often presents much simplified ornamentation, notably of the back-slab when present and of the pedestal.

religious image which they financed, it is their social existence which is acknowledged as a fundamental part to the existence of the religious community. Study of this motif can be made from various points of views, bringing new insight into the interpretation of religious imagery in Eastern India.

Inscriptions – Most Buddhist stone images from Magadha are inscribed with the classical formula *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā*³ often seen in the upper part of the image where it is incised on a curved line running parallel to the edge of the nimbus, and thus around the head of the Buddha or the deity, as if emanating from them. Such is for instance the situation observed in the stone images carved at Kurkihar in the ninth century where a second inscription expressly referring to the donation of the image is incised in the central part of the pedestal with the donor(s) also being depicted. A third variant includes the formula together with the donor's inscription engraved in the lower part of the image. Besides mentioning the name of the donor, this second inscription can also give the date of the donation, i.e. the regnal year of the ruler during whose reign the donation was made. Some examples from Bodhgaya not only include this 'classical' inscription, but have also the names of the individuals inserted near the representation of the donors which clearly bears out the fact that these individuals wanted to be recognized.⁴

When carved in the upper part of the image, around the Buddha's head or on images of the Tārā and of Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī or Maitreya, the formula appears as part of the nimbus or aura which symbolizes the light emerging from the deity. The teaching imparted by this sacred formula finds its source at Bodhgaya at the very moment when Śākyamuni became *buddha* and realized that "All things arise from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause. This cause of things has finally been destroyed. Such is the teaching of the great Śramaṇa."⁵ As suggested by JANICE LEOSKO,⁶ the formula appeared to have gained its importance after the sixth century when Bodhgaya was becoming the central point of the Buddhist world whereas Sarnath was about to lose its position as place of learning. Initially seen on images of the Buddha, it occurs also on numerous representations of the Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and other Bodhisattvas in the ninth century, but is conspicuously absent in other iconographies, notably the esoteric images; this situation probably reflect a 'social' dichotomy with the earlier images being offered to popular devotion (and the formula more aimed at lay devotees?),⁷ and the later ones produced for monks. Moreover, whereas the formula is

³ See BOUCHER 1991 concerning this formula. As a reminder: *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evāṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*.

⁴ Beside the pedestal and the slab reproduced here in figs 1 and 3, names of donors are also incised on the floor of the Bodhgaya temple, possibly close to their depiction in fourteenth-century carvings (ASHER 1989, quoting BARUA 1931, pp. 210-212, with a particular reference to two panels dated *samvat* 1385 and 1388 published by CUNNINGHAM 1871, pl. VI (here fig. 2) and p. 9).

⁵ Above note 3; translation by SIMON LAWSON quoted after LEOSKO 2000/2001, p. 71.

⁶ 2000/2001, p. 72.

⁷ Could this meet with observations recently made by JINAH KIM (2013, pp. 240-253) in her study of the manuscripts from Eastern India where she notes the increasing importance of lay practitioners in the production and ritualistic use of these manuscripts? But, as observed here, the formula is more rarely seen in carvings from Bengal – and most observations introduced by JINAH KIM concern manuscripts from this

principally incised on images from Bihar, it does not seem to have known comparable importance in Bengal, where it is rarely encountered.

Structure of the image – The position of the inscription(s) on the image is not left to mere chance: the composition of the image follows very strict rules where the different parts, i.e. the image of the deity and possibly of the attendants, the back-slab and the pedestal constitute an immovable structure (zones A-D)(Fig. 9);⁸ the back-slab and the pedestal are adorned with motifs which are specific to each of them and contribute to the elaboration of a setting in which the image is inserted. This setting contains particular meanings: it enhances the divine nature and illustrates the universal powers of the deity on the one hand while, on the other hand, it acts as a symbolic reflection of the universe and its superimposed levels.⁹

The classical structure of the image is developed around two main directions. The vertical one shows the superimposed levels of the universe, i.e. the human at ground level (D), the divine in the upper part of the image (A), both separated by the image of the deity in alto-relievo and the depiction of his/her universal powers carved in low-relief on the back-slab (B-C). This dimension helps to define the position of the human very clearly: below, at the bottom of the hierarchy, at a level of materiality, supporting and subordinate to the divine and immaterial world, but integrated in the same and unique vision of the universe. The image can be understood in this context as integrating the world of humans logically placed at the bottom of this hierarchy.

The ‘human sphere’ is included at the level of the pedestal through the inscription where the donor is named, but also through a visual depiction of him/herself (Fig. 5). Besides the lay devotees, a monk may also be introduced in the composition and the pedestal then becomes a place of interaction between secular society and the religious community. The scene of worship which we see records an event, i.e. the donation of an image, and may be illustrated with great care (Figs 1, 5).¹⁰ When the monk is depicted, he is probably not just any monk but a particular one who must have acted as spiritual master to the donors; in this case, the donors worship the deity but also venerate the monk (Figs 6-8; see also Fig. 4). However, although it can thus be seen as a unique moment, it also points to the perpetual devotion and respect offered to the deity and the monk. The frontal position of the religious practitioner is constant and reflects the importance of this monk, perceived as being a substitute of the divine at the human level: in the traditional structure of the image, the deity only has the right to sit or stand in a strictly frontal attitude, offering him/herself to the vision and veneration of his/her devotees. Moreover, the viewer of the image is drawn into this scene of worship when focusing his/her attention on it.¹¹ As seen in Fig. 8, the monk sits close to Mañjuśrī, at the level of the lion which supports the

region: might we suggest that it was no longer necessary to refer to the truth expressed by the formula when lay devotees were themselves becoming practitioners?

⁸ BAUTZE-PICRON 1986 and, in greater detail, 1992 studies the structure of the image in Bihar and Bengal from the eighth up to the twelfth c.

⁹ BAUTZE-PICRON 2007.

¹⁰ Fig. 1: CUNNINGHAM 1892, pl. XXVIII, VOGEL 1903-1904, pl. LXIII-2 & p. 221: the two male donors are named Thādu and Yajju, their wives Vallahū and Nunne.

¹¹ BAUTZE-PICRON (in press-b), pp. 72-73.

Bodhisattva and thus above the pedestal where the devotee is depicted, a composition which clearly enhances the importance of the religious man.

Another major element is introduced in the composition of the pedestal, i.e. the powerful scrolls of the stalks which support the lotuses on which the main deity and his/her attendants sit or stand (Figs 6-7).¹² These scrolls symbolically allude to the muddy waters out of which the lotuses arise and constitute the background to the representation of worshippers. Clearly here, these two motifs which are superimposed, the lotus scrolls and the human beings, merge in the common function not only of supporting the divine world displayed above but also of being the place where this divine world can be imagined: the root to the lotus hides in the darkness of the muddy waters and the visual image of the deity emerges out of the human mind.

The horizontal and second dimension introduced in the composition of the image appears less obvious at a first glance (Fig. 9): however, the ornamentation of the back-slab at the level of the deity (zone B) is depicted as if moving horizontally away from this deity. A similar observation may be made when considering the possibly depicted group of deities attending to the central deity (zone C); their sizes progressively decrease from the centre of the composition to its extremities, reflecting a spiritual hierarchy in the group but also indicating the expansion of the divine kingdom around the central image. Similarly, when the group of the five Tathāgatas is introduced in the upper part A of the slab, it is the basic structure of the *maṇḍala* which is inserted with a central Buddha surrounded by the remaining four located at the four directions of space. A similar concept thus prevails in the composition of all three levels of the sculpture, which is the creation of a three-dimensional centrifugal space within a two-dimensional sculptural structure.

In contradistinction to the upper zones, the movement noted in the composition of the pedestal (zone D) is centripetal with the devotees kneeling, right knee resting on the ground,¹³ towards the centre. The ornamentation of this part of the sculpture introduces, moreover, another perception of the horizontal dimension: this is the part of the image where the image of the human is admitted, integrated within the divine image like the devotee is part of the secular society sustaining the community of monks.

Left and right – There is no denying that the distribution of the various human characters within the composition of the pedestal follows strict rules. The monk sits in the proper left part of the pedestal,¹⁴ symmetric to the lay devotees who mainly kneel in the proper right part of the pedestal, thus, respectively right and left for the viewer (Figs 6-7). Exceptions to this rule may be encountered, for instance when two or more devotees are symmetrically distributed around the central part of the pedestal (Figs 1, 5) or when the devotee is placed in the right corner facing the Preta who kneels at the feet of Avalokiteśvara from whom he receives the ambrosia.

We had already observed in a previous paper that the iconographic composition of the Buddhist image follows strict rules concerning the laterality of the functions belonging to

¹² BAUTZE-PICRON 1992, pp. 13-15.

¹³ *dakṣiṇājānumandalena* (BAREAU 1968, p. 159).

¹⁴ Examples where the situation is reversed are rare: LEE 2009, fig. 19 (eleventh-century Tārā from the Vikrampur area); BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), fig. 176 (ninth-century Maitreya from Kurkihar area).

this image.¹⁵ The position left/right is also related to the spatial distribution of the attendants in the iconography of Avalokiteśvara in *sādhana* 14 for instance:¹⁶ in the two-dimensional structure of the sculpture, the attendants indicated as being located in the west and north shift at the proper left (Bhṛkuṭī, Hayagrīva) and those standing at the east and south move at the proper right (the Tārā, Sudhanakumāra). Therefore, the proper right side coincides with the area of light, the sun rising in the east and reaching its zenith in the south, whereas the proper left side remains the area of darkness never reached by the sun in the north or where the sun sets in the west.

The physical appearance and the attributes displayed by the attendants reflect their personality and contribute to explain the respective and specific functions which they assume and which constitute decisive factors justifying their position at the proper left or proper right of the Bodhisattva or any other main deity. Without dwelling on the topic further here, it is worth recalling that this dichotomy is noted in all aspects of Avalokiteśvara, and in images of Mārīcī¹⁷ and the Tārā,¹⁸ for instance. This dichotomy echoes back the ‘mystic physiology’¹⁹ as detailed in a text like the *Pañcakrama* where in a system of correspondences, the first stage of emptiness (*śūnya*) is “called the woman (*strī*) ... it is also called the left (*vāma*) and the lotus in the lunar circle... is said to be Prajñā” while “the second stage ... is ... said to be the Upāya ... the right (*dakṣiṇa*), the solar circle (*sūrya-maṇḍala*) and the thunderbolt (*vajra*).”²⁰

For our present concern, we will recall that the proper right side of the image relates to the profane world under the shining sun, to the knowledge provided, to the activities of the deity (displayed, for instance, by the gesture presented by the main hand), to masculinity, whereas the proper left side is connected to the spiritual or mystic mind which hides in the night illuminated by the moon, to wisdom and meditation, and to the femininity of the deity. When considering the distribution of the characters in the pedestal, the profane world in quest of wisdom and knowledge is (practically) always seen at the proper right side whereas the monk as a teacher dispensing wisdom and knowledge is depicted in the proper left part of the pedestal, both types of characters respectively referring to the world outside or within the boundaries of the religious community.

Where and when – The representation of devotees and the carving of the donor’s inscription are not constant elements in the composition of the image. Moreover, variations are noted in the way of displaying the devotees. A rapid survey of the ninth-century images from Kurkihar or of the eleventh-twelfth-century images from Lakhi

¹⁵ BAUTZE-PICRON 2004, note 37. Concerning the topic in India, see BAREAU 1968; and for further general considerations, see HERTZ 1909 and MCMANUS 2002.

¹⁶ BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), pp. 98-99 for a discussion of the values to be attributed to the four attendants to the Bodhisattva due to their respective positions in the four directions of space, i.e. around the Bodhisattva.

¹⁷ BAUTZE-PICRON 2001, pp. 284-5.

¹⁸ BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), pp. 126-7.

¹⁹ As mentioned by ELIADE 1972, pp. 237 sqr.

²⁰ DASGUPTA 1974, pp. 43 & 44, 155-6; BAREAU 1968, p. 166.

Sarai²¹ shows for instance how the image of human devotees, when illustrated, does not follow a single set pattern:

- The devotee can be alone or in couple; alone, the devotee can be a man or a woman.
- Their presence is not bound to specific iconographies.
- When two devotees are depicted, they can kneel together in the left (for the viewer) corner of the pedestal or be separated, facing each other under the central deity (Fig. 5). When the devotee is alone, he is usually shown in the lower left corner or in the right corner when the left position is reserved to a character, like the Preta, who is part of the iconography.
- A monk, much more rarely a lay practitioner, can be represented, sitting on a small stool, at the right of the deity in zone C, i.e. above the pedestal. Also when seen in the pedestal and then introduced in the lower right corner, the monk may not be seated directly on the ground but on a small stool or a thick cushion.

Such observations also apply to the representation of individuals in other sites and regions of Eastern India although regional variations should be noted: images of the eleventh and twelfth centuries collected in North Bengal often show a couple flanking the pedestal and do not include the image of the monk.²² Contemporary images from South and Southeast Bengal show the monk differing from the 'traditional' monk depicted on the images from Kurkihar for instance, but wearing a pointed cap; he does not show the *anjālimudrā* nor does he hold his right hand in a gesture of salutation, *namaskaramudrā* (or *vandanamudrā*) but holds the *vajra* and *ghantā* in both hands either before his breast or laid on his thighs (Figs 6-8). Similar depiction is encountered in rectangular slabs collected at Bodhgaya (below) (Figs 3-4).

Rectangular slabs from Bodhgaya – Devotees and monks are also the main characters depicted on the horizontal rectangular slabs which were discovered at Bodhgaya: the monk, generally carved in the right corner, sits in *padmāsana* on a cushion or stool, facing us (Figs 3-4).²³ Clearly, this monk is a practitioner of Esoteric Buddhism: beside the particular head-dress which he wears and the presence of the classical ritual objects, a stand carrying the manuscript and flanked by offerings is seen in close vicinity; further ritual paraphernalia can be depicted around the manuscript on its stand, e.g. a lotus-shaped incense-holder, a jar or plate with offerings.

The monk and the devotees can be depicted at both extremities of such panel reliefs with the Seven Jewels of the Cakravartin inserted between them. Clear examples are provided by a pedestal still in situ at Bodhgaya,²⁴ one in a private collection²⁵ and one preserved in

²¹ For Kurkihar, see BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press) and for Lakhi Sarai, BAUTZE-PICRON 1991/92.

²² RAHMAN 1998, plates 4, 5, 6 (but evidently produced in the region of Vikrampur), 7, 9, 21, 28, 38, and 53. See also plates 29 (couple in the right corner facing the Preta kneeling in the left part), 39 (one single devotee in the left corner), 43 (a couple right under Jambhala), 51 (couple in the left corner), 52 (two couples on either side of the pedestal), and 56 (devotee in the left corner).

²³ BAUTZE-PICRON 1995 for a study of these panels (figs 5-7, 9-13); 1998, catalogues 182-197, 200-202.

²⁴ BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, fig. 17.

²⁵ BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, fig. 5.

the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig.3):²⁶ the London relief bears a long inscription starting with the *Pratīyasamutpādagāthā* and concluding with the donor's inscription which mentions that the "illustrious Rahulabhadra, the learned teacher belonging to Vajrayana" had a *caitya* made "with religious merit for the living beings". Further, the names of the four devotees at our left are added as being Valo, Mujja, Tingala and Sumati, a couple and their two children; the fifth devotee kneeling below the monk at our right is also named Valo and could thus be depicted twice as head of the family.²⁷

The importance of lay donors can be highlighted by inserting them together with the monk within the set of Seven Jewels, as on another relief preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 4).²⁸ In this particular example, the group formed by the practitioner and the couple kneeling at his left is symmetrical to the group constituted by the three human characters that are part of the Seven Jewels. The four remaining jewels, i.e. the elephant and the horse, the precious stone and the wheel, are distributed at the extremities of the relief whereas the central and main item is the manuscript lying on its stand amid ritualistic paraphernalia. The couple of devotees kneel, turned three-quarters to the monk to whom they pay their respect and who sits on a cushion and faces us, thus being presented at the same level as the three human characters of the Seven Jewels, i.e. as an image worthy of veneration (see above).

Southeast Bengal – This tradition of having the religious teacher being venerated by his devotees in a scene split on either side of the Seven Jewels reached Southeast Bengal where it is to be seen in two images of Mañjuśrī (Fig. 6-7).²⁹ On a tenth-century image of Avalokiteśvara from the region (Fig. 9),³⁰ the Seven Jewels are all carved in the right part of the pedestal whereas the lay donors preserve their position in the left part, both groups flanking a dancing scene of veneration paid to the Bodhisattva.³¹ Thus the pattern noted at Bodhgaya and more generally in Bihar is also reflected in this region of Bengal with lay donors shown in the proper right part of the pedestal. A simplified version can show the monk in the right corner paired with the devotee(s) rightly positioned in the left part (Fig. 8).

The presence of the monk wearing a pointed cap on the Bodhgaya slabs and the images from Southeast Bengal clearly indicates the presence of Esoteric Buddhism in these regions, which is strictly speaking hardly surprising. The simultaneous representation of lay worshippers shows, however, that this form of Buddhism was not exclusively limited to the monastery but had spread in lay society.³²

²⁶ Also published by BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, fig. 6.

²⁷ See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O64463/panel-relief-panel-relief-unknown/> (last time accessed on 3rd June 2014).

²⁸ BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, fig. 7. See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O64458/vereneration-of-the-book-sculpture-unknown/> (last time accessed on 3rd June 2014) where further references are given.

²⁹ BAUTZE-PICRON (in press-a), footnote 75.

³⁰ BAUTZE-PICRON (in press-a), fig. 4 and footnote 77 for further references.

³¹ On the dance as part of a ritual, see VAN KOOIJ 1995 and BAUTZE-PICRON (in press-b).

³² Which was most probably more involved than usually supposed in the development of the Dharma, as shown by JINAH KIM's research (2013).

Conclusion – The representation of human characters, lay devotees, donors or monks, is not reserved to Buddhist icons such as those considered above.³³ Similar donors or *dānapati* are carved in the lower part of Hindu and Jain images from Bihar and Bengal. Three-dimensional representations of kneeling or standing donors are known, some being rightly named on the evidence of an inscription.³⁴ Such images used to stand at Bodhgaya as we can tell from a nineteenth-century photograph produced by the studio of Bourne and Shepherd (Fig. 10), reflecting a tradition which would find its way up to the Ananda Temple in Bagan where two gilded wooden carvings are traditionally considered to depict the ruler Kyanzittha (r. 1084-1113) and the monk Shin Arahan.³⁵ The tradition of having oneself depicted in a holy place like Bodhgaya, leaving evidence of one's presence there but also placing oneself in an eternal situation of devotion, is observed up to the thirteenth century when pilgrims had their portrait incised in the floor of the temple as seen above. Again at Bodhgaya, we noted that these individuals had their names incised close to their depictions, transforming an anonymous image into a portrait.

Starting in the course of the tenth century, but mainly in the following two centuries, representation of human characters is thus encountered in various types of situation and in Hindu as well as Jain art. Not only are independent representations of worshippers known from Bihar as mentioned above, but similar images of Śaiva spiritual teachers are known to us from North Bengal,³⁶ and depictions of the Buddhist masters known as Siddhas are also recorded.³⁷ Further small representations of Mahāsiddhas are shown inhabiting caves of Mount Potala in images of Avalokiteśvara (Fig. 9), or inserted in an architectural setting like a lintel.³⁸ We find this echoed in the murals of Bagan where depictions of ascetics are to be seen.³⁹

The Śaiva spiritual masters who we see depicted were real historical characters, probably contemporary with the lay devotees who had their portrait made. The situation differs when considering the representation of the Buddhist Mahāsiddhas as known in sculpture – they might have been depicted in paintings, but any such evidence has disappeared: the artistic evidence is much later than the period when these Mahāsiddhas lived. In the absence of further remains, it is indeed difficult to ascertain once and for all the period of creation of their iconography. However, considering the fact that the space occupied by lay people in religious iconography grew relatively larger in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we may reasonably conjecture that the Mahāsiddhas' iconography was also formed during this phase. Secular society was always fundamental to the existence of the

³³ See also BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, pp. 61-64 concerning the depiction of monks and lay people.

³⁴ BAUTZE-PICRON 1998, catalogue 216; BHATTACHARYA 1989, fig. 1 & pp. 165-167 (named *dānapati* Tārasena)

³⁵ LUCE 1969-1970, vol. III, plate 276.

³⁶ For a recent study of this iconography, see CHATTOPADHAYA, RAY & MAJUMDER 2013, pp. 210-234.

³⁷ BAUTZE-PICRON (in press-a). footnote 18 for examples.

³⁸ BAUTZE-PICRON 2013 (in press), p. 104; BANERJI 1933, pl. XC-c (lintel preserved in the Indian Museum)

³⁹ BAUTZE-PICRON 2003, plates 126-128 & pp. 104-108. As a matter of fact, the important presence of monks, ascetics and lay devotees observed in Bagan possibly echoes the situation as it must have been in Northeast India, where most of the artistic evidence has disappeared or suffered heavy damage throughout the centuries. For instance, portraits of spiritual masters were painted on the walls of the monastery of Vikramasila as mentioned in Tibetan sources (BAUTZE-PICRON 1995, p. 66 & note 74)), initiating the important Tibetan tradition of having masters painted (CASEY SINGER 1994, pp. 112-114).

saṃgha, and its presence is recognised as from a very early period, as seen in the carvings on the *vedikā* and *torāṇa* at Bharhut and Sanchi for instance. However, after the sixth century, this presence seems to vanish from the artistic production before reappearing centuries later in Bihar and Bengal: this re-appropriation of space in the artistic production most probably reflects the need to restore to this community an importance necessary for the survival of the monastery in a changing religious landscape where Hindu gods and goddesses were becoming the main focus of devotional attention.

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Legends to the pictures

1. Pedestal, Bodhgaya; photo courtesy of the ASI
2. Inscribed images, Bodhgaya; after CUNNINGHAM 1871, pl. VI
3. Slab, Bodhgaya; Victoria and Albert Museum inv. IS 699-1883; photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
4. Slab, Bodhgaya; Victoria and Albert Museum inv. IS 659-1883; photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
5. Pedestal below Mahākāla, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 1996.465; photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
6. Pedestal below Mañjuvajra, Rubin Museum of Art, New York; photo courtesy of Joachim K. Bautze
7. Pedestal below Mañjuvajra, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 57.51.6; photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
8. Mañjuśrī, Chandimura, Lalmai, Comilla District; Rammala Library, Comilla ; photo courtesy of Joachim K. Bautze

9. Avalokiteśvara, Mahakali, Vikrampur area; National Museum of Bangladesh, Dhaka; photo courtesy of Joachim K. Bautze

10. Devotee kneeling in front of a stūpa, Bodhgaya, detail from a photo entitled '2882 Gya stupa in front of East gate'; photo Bourne and Shepherd



Fig. 1

BUDDHA—GAYA.

Plate VI



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

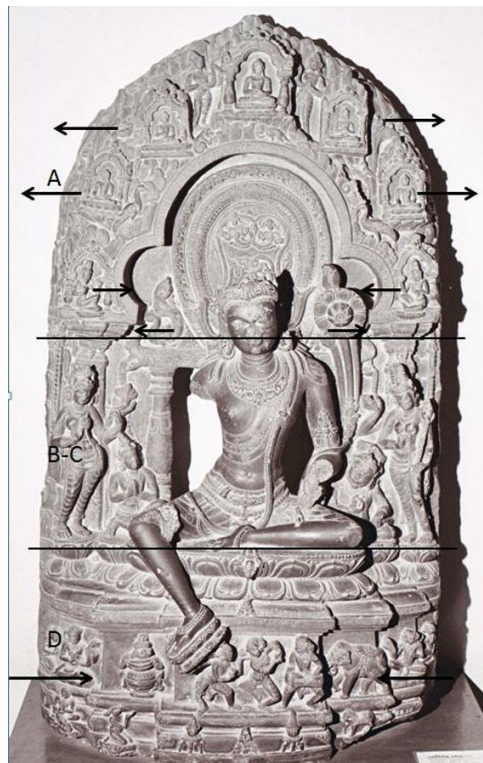


Fig. 9



Fig. 10